

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-06 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 IO-10 AID-05 ACDA-05 SAM-01 MC-02 OMB-01

TRSE-00 EB-07 /103 W

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R 141400Z MAR 75

FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7510

INFO AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY KABUL

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

USLO PEKING

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, IN, AF, PK, US

SUBJECT: DAOUD VISIT--BRICKBATS FOR BHUTTO AND THE UNITED STATES

SUMMARY: AFGHAN PRESIDENT DAOUD USED HIS FIVE DAY VISIT TO INDIA TO DENOUNCE THE LIFTING OF THE US ARMS EMBARGO AND THE POLICY OF PAKISTAN PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO. THE AFGHAN LEADER ASSERTED INDO-AFGHAN UNITY POSED NO DANGER FOR PAKISTAN. INDO-AFGHAN ECONOMIC COOPERATION WAS ALSO DISCUSSED. DAOUD'S REMARKS WERE WELL RECEIVED IN INDIA AND HIS VISIT GIVEN SUBSTANTIAL PUBLICITY. END SUMMARY.

1. AFGHAN PRESIDENT MAHAMMAD DAOUD ACCOMPANIED BY HIS MINISTER FOR COMMERCE AND PLANNING MOHAMMAD KHAN JALALAR AND DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER WAHEED ABDULLAH ARRIVED IN NEW LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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DELHI ON MARCH 10 FOR A FIVE DAY VISIT. THEY WERE RECEIVED

AT THE AIRPORT BY THE TOP LEVEL LEADERSHIP OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT INCLUDING PRESIDENT AHMED, PRIME MINISTER GANDHI, EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER CHAVAN, DEFENCE MINISTER SWARAN SINGH, KASHMIR CHIEF MINISTER SHEIKH ABDULLAH, AND THE ARMY AND AIR FORCE CHIEFS. DAOUD MADE A NUMBER OF SPEECHES AND GAVE SEVERAL INTERVIEWS IN THE COURSE OF HIS VISIT.

2. AT THE BANQUET IN HIS HONOR ON MARCH 10 DAOUD TOOK BOTH PAKISTAN AND THE US TO TASK; HE SAID:

QUOTE: THE ONE AND ONLY POLITICAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN CONCERNS THE RESTORATION OF THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF OUR PAKHTOON AND BALOOCHIS BROTHERS. WE HAVE ALWAYS EXPRESSED OUR WILLINGNESS TO SETTLE THIS ONLY DIFFERENCE WITH THAT COUNTRY, BUT WE SEE THAT PAKISTAN IS NOT READY TO GIVE A POSITIVE RESPONSE TO OUR DESIRE IN THIS REGARD.

VARIOUS GOVERNMENTS IN PAKISTAN HAVE CONSISTENTLY EMPLOYED FEAR FROM OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE REGION AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR INTERNAL STABILITY AND PROCURING ARMS WHILE IT IS PAKISTAN ITSELF, WHICH BY JOINING VARIOUS MILITARY PACTS, STOCKPILING VARIOUS KINDS OF ARMS HAS AROUSED THE CONCERN OF THE COUNTRIES IN THE REGION AND DISTURBED THE TRANQUILITY AND STABILITY IN THE AREA.

THE RECENT LIFTING OF ARMS EMBARGO TO PAKISTAN BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IN A TIME THAT PAKISTAN IS ENGAGED IN SHEDDING BLOOD IN BALOCHISTAN AND PASHTUNISTAN HAS CAUSED GRAVE CONCERN TO THE PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT OF AFGHANISTAN. IT WILL LEAD TO IMBALANCE IN THE REGION AND PROMOTE AN ARMAMENTS RACE AND WOULD CREATE AN ADDITIONAL THREAT TO PEACE IN THE REGION. AFGHANISTAN EXPECTS THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES AS IT HAS DECLARED WILL REALLY SUPPORT PEACEFUL EFFORTS AIMED AT CREATING STABILITY IN SOUTH ASIA SO THAT THE PEOPLE IN THIS REGION, INSTEAD OF SPENDING THEIR LIMITED RESOURCES ON ARMS, MAY DEVOTE ATTENTION TO THEIR DEVELOPMENT AND ECONOMIC PROGRAMMES.

FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN AFGHANISTAN AND INDIA IS BASED UPON PEACEFUL POLICIES AND BOTH COUNTRIES WANT PEACE IN THE REGION. IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDERSTANDING AND FRIENDSHIP THEY FULLY BELIEVE IN SEEKING A PEACEFUL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SOLUTION TO ALL PROBLEMS ON THE BASIS OF JUSTICE AND REALISM. WE CONSIDER MILITARY OPERATIONS AND UNWARRANTED REARMING UNDESIRABLE ACTIONS THAT ARE DETRIMENTAL TO PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE REGION AND THE WORLD. IT WAS, AND IS PAKISTAN WHICH CREATES ANXIETY AND UNREST IN THE REGION. END QUOTE.

3. DAOUD MET FOR 90 MINUTES ALONE WITH PRIME MINISTER

GANDHI ON MARCH 10. WITH MRS. GANDHI AT HIS SIDE FOLLOWING THE MEETING DAOUD TOLD THE PRESS THAT THE LIFTING OF THE US ARMS EMBARGO ON PAKISTAN WILL LEAD TO "IMBALANCE IN THE REGION, PROMOTE AN ARMS RACE AND CREATE AN ADDITIONAL THREAT TO THE PEACE." HE DESCRIBED THE DECISION TO LIFT THE EMBARGO AS A "COMMON DIFFICULTY WHICH BOTH OF US HAVE TO FACE." COMMENTING FURTHER ON HIS TALKS WITH MRS. GANDHI, DAOUD SAID THEY HAVE TAKEN A CLOSE LOOK AT REGIONAL PROBLEMS. HE CALLED THE MEETING "CONSTRUCTIVE AND USEFUL."

4. ON MARCH 11 FOLLOWING DAOUD'S 40 MINUTE MEETING WITH CHAVAN, AFGHAN DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER ABDULLAH TOLD THE PRESS THAT AFGHANISTAN WAS PREPARED TO OPEN TALKS WITH PAKISTAN PROVIDING THE LATTER RESTORED THE STATUS QUO WHICH OBTAINED BEFORE FEBRUARY 10 IN BALUCHISTAN AND PAKTOONISTAN. DESCRIBING THE PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT'S CRACK-DOWN ON THE ALWAMI PARTY, ABDULLAH SAID THE SITUATION HAD DETERIORATED IN THE WAKE OF THAT ACTION. ABDULLAH ASSERTED THAT THE PAKISTANI ACTION DELAYED THE TALKS SCHEDULED TO TAKE PLACE IN KABUL ON FEBUARY 15 WITH PAKISTANI FOREIGN SECRETARY AGA SHAHI. ANY FURTHER DECISION IS NOW UP TO PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO, CLAIMED ABDULLAH. DAOUD ALSO MET DEFENCE MINISTER SWARAN SINGH ON MARCH 11. PRESS REPORTS INDICATE THEY DISCUSSED THE LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO, BUT NO DETAILS ARE GIVEN.

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5. SPEAKING IN CHANDIGARH ON MARCH 12, DAOUD DEPLORED THE POLICY OF ENCOURAGING AN ARMS RACE FOLLOWED BY COUNTRIES WHICH BELIEVE IN THE "DOCTRINE OF BALANCE OF POWER" IN VARIOUS REGIONS OF THE WORLD. THE AFGHAN LEADER TOLD THE PANJAB UNIVERSITY THAT EVERY TIME SUCH A POLICY HAD BEEN ADOPTED IT RESULTED IN TENSION, AND ANIMOSITY LEADING TO CONFLICTS AND WARS IN SOUTHWEST AND SOUTHEAST ASIA. REFERRING TO PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO'S FRIENDSHIP OFFER, DAOUD SAID IT WAS COMPARABLE TO THE SAYING, "BE REASONABLE AND DO IT MY WAY." HE CONCLUDED PAKISTAN HAD NOT SO FAR WISHED TO ELIMINATE ITS DIFFERENCES WITH AFGHANISTAN.

6. ON THE 13TH IN A DELHI TELEVISION INTERVIEW DAOUD RIDICULED ANY TALK OF A CONSPIRACY BETWEEN HIS COUNTRY AND INDIA DIRECTED AT PAKISTAN. HE SAID IT WAS UNFORTUNATE THAT THE SHAH'S EFFORTS WERE NOT ABLE TO BRING ABOUT A BETTER RELATION-  
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SHIP BETWEEN AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN WHEN HE, DAOUD, WAS PRIME MINISTER, BUT HE SAID IF THE SHAH HAD THE SAME DESIRE TO AFFECT A RECONCILIATION TODAY, NO FORMAL APPROACHES HAD BEEN MADE ALTHOUGH AFGHANISTAN WOULD BE HAPPY TO CONSIDER ANY SUGGESTION WHICH MIGHT LEAD TO AN HONORABLE SOLUTION OF ITS DIFFICULTIES WITH PAKISTAN. ASKED ABOUT A LETTER FROM SECRETARY KISSINGER TO BHUTTO, DAOUD SAID HE WAS UNAWARE OF SUCH A COMMUNICATIONS, BUT IF THERE HAD BEEN ONE HE HOPED DR. KISSINGER MIGHT HAVE PUT IN A GOOD WORD FOR THE REGION. DAOUD SAID HE THOUGHT THE SOVIET UNION WOULD HAVE ASKED ALL COUNTRIES TO FOLLOW A BETTER POLICY FOR PEACE IN THE REGION. TURNING TO CHINA, HE ADDED THAT THE RECENT VISIT TO PEKING OF HIS EMISSARY, MOHAMMAD NAIM, WAS USEFUL. HE SAID AFGHANISTAN DESIRES TO HAVE BETTER RELATIONS WITH CHINA SINCE IT IS ALSO A NEIGHBOR.

7. ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT THE AFGHAN TEAM MET WITH CHAVAN AND COMMERCE MINISTER CHATTOPADHYAYA ON MARCH 11. REPORTEDLY THEY REACHED A TENTATIVE UNDERSTANDING ON A FEASIBILITY STUDY FOR AFGHANISTAN'S FIRST RAILWAY PROJECT. SOME UNDERSTANDING ON A LONG TERM TRADE AGREEMENT WAS ALSO REACHED. THE INDIAN SIDE OFFERED TO UNDERTAKE MINING, CEMENT, AND TEXTILE

PROJECTS ON A TURN-KEY BASIS. THE TWO SIDES ALSO DISCUSSED THE PROBLEMS OF TRANSPORTATION THROUGH PAKISTAN.

8. DAOUD'S STATEMENTS ON THE LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO AND THE INTRANSIGENCE OF MR. BHUTTO WERE RECEIVED QUIETLY (NO PARALLELED INDIAN STATEMENTS WERE MADE IN CONNECTION WITH DAOUD'S VISIT UNTIL THE COMMUNIQUE) BY DAOUD'S INDIAN HOSTS, BUT ALMOST CERTAINLY WITH SATISFACTION. ALL HIS STATEMENTS WERE EXTENSIVELY REPORTED IN THE LOCAL PRESS AND ONE INTERVIEW WAS CARRIED ON TELEVISION. THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE WAS RELEASED JUST IN TIME TO ENSURE HEADLINES IN THE NEXT MORNING'S PRESS.

9. WHILE WE DO NOT HAVE THE FULL TEXT OF THIS COMMUNIQUE, INITIAL WIRE SERVICE REPORTS NOTE BOTH SIDES EXPRESSED "REGRET" OVER THE RECENT ACTION WHICH "WOULD STIMULATE THE ARMS RACE IN SOUTH ASIA", ENCOURAGE THE FORCES OF CONFRONTATION AND TENSION, AND RETARD THE PROCESS OF NORMALIZATION IN SOUTH ASIA. DAOUD AND MRS. GANDHI ARE SAID TO HAVE REAFFIRMED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THEIR DESIRE TO ESTABLISH AN ATMOSPHERE OF PEACE AND COOPERATION IN SOUTH ASIA, AND SEEK TO RESOLVE "EXISTING DISPUTES" BY PEACEFUL METHODS. (NO REFERENCE WAS MADE TO ANY SPECIFIC DISPUTES OR PAK-AFGHAN RELATIONS). BOTH SIDES AGREED TO KEEP IN CLOSE TOUCH, NOTED A CLOSE SIMILARITY OF THEIR VIEWS ON ALL SUBJECTS, AND OBSERVED THE PROGRESS OF COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES IN ECONOMIC, TECHNICAL AND COMMERCIAL AREAS. THEY AGREED ON THE INDIAN OCEAN AS A ZONE OF PEACE, CALLED FOR GREATER REGIONAL COOPERATION, AND FOR "URGENT AND CONCRETE MEASURES" TO HELP THE MOST SERIOUSLY AFFECTED LDCS, INCLUDING THE LANDLOCKED COUNTRIES SO FAR AS TRADE AND TRANSIT FACILITIES WERE CONCERNED.

10. COMMENT: IT WILL BE SEVERAL DAYS BEFORE WE CAN TOUCH BASE WITH ANY OF THE INDIAN CAST INVOLVED IN THE VISIT. ONE USUALLY WELL-INFORMED NEWSPAPERMAN TOLD US YESTERDAY HIS IMPRESSION SO FAR WAS THAT, DESPITE A LOT OF TALKING BY DAOUD, THE VISIT HAD BEEN ESSENTIALLY PROTOCOLAIRE AND THAT THERE WOULD BE LITTLE SUBSTANTIVE CHANGE IN INDO-AFGHAN RELATIONS OR ACTIVITIES BY EACH COUNTRY IN THE OTHER AS A RESULT. WE HAVE NO EVIDENCE WHATSOEVER THUS FAR THAT A DEFENSE AGREEMENT WAS DISCUSSED OR AGREED ON BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES.

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## Message Attributes

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